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AND DON'T THINK HE COULDN'T HOIST A MEAN BALE!
At the Longshore Union hiring hall in San Francisco, Premier Khrushchev poses with the traditional dock worker's cap which he acquired in a swap for his own fedora. With him is Mike Somodra, who explained the hiring hall system in Russian to his visitor.

IT'S MOSCOW IN THE SPRING

Ike and Mr. K renounce use of force to settle problems

By Kumar Goshal

PREMIER KHRUSHCHEV ended his historic visit to America with a three-day "frank exchange of opinions" with President Eisenhower in the seclusion of Camp David, Md. Statements made by the President at a press conference on Sept. 28 and by the Premier the same day in Moscow indicated that they had reached an understanding on two important issues: the situation in West Berlin and a summit meeting.

Eisenhower agreed with Khrushchev that the status of West Berlin, "a free city, sitting inside a Communist country," was "abnormal." The two leaders decided to reopen negotiations on the Berlin issue to resolve the situation within a reasonable length of time and in a manner acceptable to the West Berliners and to the governments of West and East Germany. The President also said that he now believed a summit meeting would be fruitful.

MUTUAL ESTEEM: Each seemed to have impressed the other with his sincere desire for peace and for lightening the armaments burden. Eisenhower described Khrushchev as "a dynamic and arresting personality" and as a man who "deplored the need for spending so much money on defenses." The Soviet Premier told his people that "the President sincerely wanted to liquidate the cold war" and "has displayed wise statesmanship in assessing the present situation" and "courage and will power" in agreeing to an exchange of visits.

The Camp David talks and a visit to the Eisenhower home in Gettysburg seemed to have brought the two leaders closer together as human beings. When a correspondent asked the President if Khrushchev had told his grandchildren that they one day would live under communism, the President said:

"As a matter of fact, on the contrary, this was the kind of heartwarming family scene that any American would like to see taking place between his grandchildren and a stranger."

The leaders of the world's two most

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ON THE TOUR WITH JAMES ARONSON—II

Mr. K ends his visit happy: Nation liked him and he liked us

By James Aronson

This is the second part of a two-part report on the cross-country tour of Premier Khrushchev. The first appeared in last week's GUARDIAN. A comment on the press coverage of the tour and its effect on public opinion appears below.

SAN FRANCISCO

IT WAS A RELAXED and benign Mr. K who left San Francisco on the morning of Sept. 22 for Des Moines. The city had charmed him and so had its people—just as the San Franciscans knew they would.

The night before, tired but happy, he addressed a large dinner sponsored by the San Francisco Commonwealth Club and World Affairs Council at the Sheraton-Palace Hotel. Leaning on his speaker's rostrum, after he had read a short prepared speech, he asked if his audience would mind if he talked off the cuff; he wanted to tell them some things about their city and about his feelings after their reception. The audience roared its approval. Then, almost as though he were speaking to a group in a living room, he reviewed his stay.

TURNING POINT: The stay indeed had been a real turning point in his trip. Except for an unpleasant session with a group of AFL-CIO leaders on the night of his arrival, Sept. 20, it had been a lark. The welcoming crowd warmed him. Nowhere else had he heard such cheers. When a reporter asked an elderly man outside the Mark Hopkins why he had applauded, the man replied, as his neighbors nodded approval: "What's the use of being nasty? I mean, where does it get you? We sure showed him, didn't we?"

The next day Mr. K went for a boat ride around the bay (during which he informed the skipper that the Soviets were using their submarines to catch sardines); saw a middle-income housing development; caused a near panic in a supermarket (as teen-agers yelled and babies screamed, a photographer shoved a boy off the baked beans shelf with this admonition: "What's the matter with you, kid; don't you know this shelf is reserved for the press?"); toured the Intl. Business Machine Corp.'s modern plant at San Jose; and visited the Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union hiring hall near Fisherman's Wharf. Arrangements for the visit had been initiated several weeks before by Harry Bridges, the union's president, and J. Paul St. Sure, president of the West Coast Maritime Assn., representatives of the West Coast ship owners.

But it was not until 8:30 of the morning of the visit that it was confirmed. When Mr. K arrived, along with officials of the State Dept. which had been trying for 20 years to deport Bridges, only a janitor was there. Mr. K shook hands; he

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Report to Readers: The people and the press

IT WAS AN 8,000-MILE JOURNEY for the more than 300 correspondents from all parts of the world, 63 official Soviet guests and the 40 State Department and security officials. To do the job required the services of the State Department, the Army, Navy and Air Force, six commercial airlines, two railroads and various hotel and local officials. Western Union alone set up 260 special telegraphic circuits to handle 400,000 words a day—the equivalent of seven full-length novels. That does not include countless messages handled by other companies.

What came of it all? For this correspondent, who went the whole way on the trip, and who found it as enlightening on America as on the Soviet visitors, these are the main conclusoins:

- The people of America are vastly interested in the world and are whole-heartedly concerned with establishing a real peace so that they and their children can live without fear.
- As a result of the impact of Premier Khrushchev's presence, and his presentation of the socialist point of view, the image of the Soviet Union as a police state ruled by ruthless men has to a large extent been dissipated.
- The American people are by and large persuaded that the people of the Soviet Union want peace, and the Soviet Premier is persuaded that the mass of Americans want peace.
- There is an influential group of Americans who—for various reasons—seek to keep the status quo or even to pursue the course of war against the socialist world. This includes a large part of the information media—press, radio and television—the top leadership of organized labor; people high in government (especially the military) and a section of industry and finance too short-sighted to understand that peace and free trade can mean profit too.
- Above all, a path has been cleared to talk peace openly and intelligently between East and West as equals. The big job, especially for us in this country, is to rally every decent-minded person to keep the way open in the face of an inevitable counter-attack by those who would replace the roadblocks, or worse.

THE SOVIET PREMIER'S PLANE was hardly off the ground on the night of Sept. 27 when the attack was resumed with all the intensity of cold war unreason. Horrified by the favorable impression that Khrushchev had made on the people of America, the television and radio networks gathered sneer-and-smear brigades and let fly. No target was too large or small—whether it was the Premier's personality, his disarmament proposal, his sinister adoption of the role of grandfather, or his statement that the Soviet government seeks to abolish all taxes. There was no attempt to analyze—only to tear down.

A good part of the press will join in as soon as it catches its breath. For this observer, perhaps the most appalling aspect of the tour with Mr. K has been a first-hand appreciation of the extent to which the

(Continued on Page 2)

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

EL PASO, Tex. (AP) — A footnote on U.S. military security:

Everything about the Nike Zeus, the anti-missile missile, is classified top secret—especially its range.

A reporter touring Fort Bliss yesterday asked about the missile and was shown a manufacturer's catalogue which listed the missile's range as 200 miles.

The catalogue is printed by a private concern and is available to the public.

—Scranton (Pa.) **Times**, Sept. 19.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: D.L., Minneapolis, Minn.

THE MAIL BAG

The moon and us

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

Only the worst pessimist thought that socialism would come to the moon before the United States.

Ned Lund

The tragic lie

NEW YORK, N.Y.

As President Eisenhower and Premier Khrushchev meet in an attempt to discover ways and means to avert the catastrophe of a nuclear war which threatens mankind, voices in our country persist in repeating lies which are at the basis of the misunderstanding between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. I refer to statements over the air that the Russians' success in landing a rocket on the moon is due to their having stolen our atomic secrets. To repeat this lie, for which Julius and Ethel Rosenberg paid with their lives and Morton Sobell is kept in jail on a 30-year sentence, is the greatest disservice to the United States and to President Eisenhower, honestly trying to resolve the war threat.

It seems to me that great newspapers such as the New York **Times** and great networks like the NBC should strive in this fateful hour to do their utmost to help in every way the noble attempt of the two men in Washington. For this it is necessary to clear away the curtain of lies built up during the cold war period. Fear, confusion and misinformation accumulated in the past decade need to be removed, so that the truth of peaceful coexistence can reach the American people.

A. A. Heller

Example of two popes

CHICAGO, ILL.

In the year 452, Pope Leo surmounted a problem similar to that now confronting the West. The troops of the adversary, Attila the King of the Huns and the "Scourge of God," had plundered the cities of North Italy and were preparing to march on Rome itself. In despair, authority was transferred to the Pope; the military forces were inadequate.

With civilian ambassadors, the Pope sought Attila and convinced him to leave in peace, then to negotiate with the Emperor. Later designated "the Great," this Pope, who had been a heretic-baiter no less than Vice-President Nixon, demonstrated that the method of civilian negotiations is more likely to prevail than that of military.

In the year 593, Pope Gregory overcame a similar crisis. He had appointed governors, provided munitions, instructed generals. All such efforts failed. King Agilulf and his Lombard warriors were at Rome. On the very steps of the Basilica of St. Peter, the Pope met the King and convinced him to leave in peace. Then in negotiations from 597 to 599, the Lombards attained recognition as lawful rulers of the lands they long had occupied.

General Eisenhower might note this and end his prolonged stand against recognizing Mainland China. It is now the close of the tenth year of this Truman-Eisenhower policy.

Albert Bofman

A word to the wise

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Under a new policy, radio station KNX now gives a full hour Monday through Friday from 9 to 10 p.m. to free expression of opinions to anyone who wishes to avail himself of it.

The station gives you three minutes to say what you think.

The policy of the station is not to make any contrary opinion to the opinions expressed.

How about some progressive three-minute speeches?

Joseph Roth

Speaking of captives . . .

CHICAGO, ILL.

Excerpts from a letter to Secy. of State Herter:

"The American press reports on the internal struggles going on in Laos. The press also reports efforts of Africans in South Africa to halt anti-African and anti-colored discrimination by the South African government, made up of minority rule and functioning similarly to the Southern part of the United States.

"As American citizens, whose African ancestry, ethnologically speaking, has been made the most important thing about us, and as 20 million Americans of African descent, may we call upon you to present for our government to the UN action similar to the one . . . in the case of Laos, namely that a fact-finding committee from the UN be sent at once to South Africa, where a South African government of minority whites have subverted the rights and the land of the 9,000,000 majority black people.

"What manner of moral posture American citizens must present to the world, when we pretend to be all steamed up about Hungary and so-called captive peoples, while saying nothing about human beings struggling for freedom and dignity in South Africa!

"Speak, Mr. Secretary of State, against the degenerate inhumanities in South Africa, while we concern ourselves with Laos and "captive peoples." The world then may take us seriously."

Christine C. Johnson
Chairman, African Affairs
African-American Heritage Association

The turbulent years

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

When the NATIONAL GUARDIAN appeared on the scene in 1948 when the Progressive Party was launched I hailed the first issue as a fortunate event for our country. In the turbulent and difficult years since it has earned a splendid record as a promoter of human decency in national and world affairs.

Reviewing your back numbers, of which I have a lengthy file, it is apparent that the GUARDIAN has deep roots in the progressive soil of America as a rallying point for the abolition of war, militarism, class exploitation, colonial slavery and racial intolerance. I believe you are correct in supporting, without taking a Left partisan position, the common goal of defeating monopoly reaction as the gateway to popular rule under socialism.

One could enumerate the many victims you have defended and publicized; victims of racial violence, denial of civil liberties and of official persecution such as those hounded by certain committees of politicians, the self-appointed arbiters of orthodoxy, who have been found to exceed their authority while acting as political vigilantes.

For all of this an awakened America will one day be grateful.

Frank Kondray

Vie Nuove, Rome

Labor leaders and K

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

I read in the newspaper the other day that Premier Khrushchev called Reuther, Curran, Rieve, Knight, etc., "capitalist stooges" to their face. I sincerely hope that this action on the part of one of the foremost international leaders of the working class does not embarrass those who have followed a policy of refraining from open denunciation of the labor fakers for fear of increasing their isolation from the American labor movement. Whatever else one may say of Mr. Khrushchev, he has shown a remarkable ability to discern the difference between Walter Reuther and a worker.

Noel Ignatin

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

TO SUGGEST, in the light of current events, that all the moral values reside in the socialist countries would be absurd. But most progressives will be able . . . to apply a sense of proportion to their judgments. . . . American progressives have their own battle to fight for more morality and less hypocricy here.

The sermonizings of a Bevin or a Truman won't distract their attention from the seat of moral contagion in the cold-war era. They may think exaggerated the comment of one of our readers in a letter last week: "What a hideous incredible sewer this country is represented by!" But they know Archibald MacLeish doesn't exaggerate when he says (in the August **Atlantic Monthly**) that "the springs of moral life" of the United States are being choked by our paranoid obsessions about Russia and communism; that "by putting hatred and fear of communism first" we have opened our freedom to forces that always hated freedom.

—Cedric Belfrage in the Guardian, October 3, 1949.

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REPORT TO READERS

Press and the people

(Continued from Page 1)

people who write and shape news and opinion in America have brain-washed themselves into frozen attitude. This goes for press, radio and the commentators on television.

It was clear that there were forces outside the United States who opposed mightily the exchange of visits. Chancellor Adenauer in West Germany and Chiang Kai-shek through his lobby in the United States tried desperately to prevent it. Vatican followers of the late Pope Pius XII worked through their American outlets—witness the fulminations of Cardinals Cushing and Spellman—to spread fear. But far more important to us are the forces within the country who are frantic at the thought of change, and they and their paid and voluntary helpers will continue the fight.

JAMES RESTON IN THE NEW YORK TIMES said that the reporters on the Khrushchev tour were not covering the trip—"they were smothering it." And while it is true that the scene took on nightmare proportions at times, with hundreds of reporters in hot pursuit of the official party; or surrealist aspects, with pale city faces peering through corn stalks in Iowa, the trip was covered in words and pictures as no other event in this observer's experience. Millions of feet of film were taken, for television and movies, and this is one of the saving aspects of the coverage.

For the millions of people who saw and heard Mr. K in their living rooms, for the millions more who will see him on the screen all over the world, the words and negative opinions of scribblers about him and America's reaction to him will ring hollow. For once, one can say, and in the manner of Mr. K: God bless television.

But more than that: In most cities visited the local press was full of letters from angry readers deploring the snide editorials in the same papers, the reports of "cool" receptions, and resentment that the American people were being shown in an inhospitable light. Don't anyone tell this observer again that the people of this country are indifferent to their fate; that they have been frozen into a conformist pattern; that they don't have a deep-down pride in our reputation as decent people.

They may not think in terms of capitalism and communism, or even understand the nature of the social forces behind these philosophies, but they do think in terms of war and peace.

Take, for instance, this scene outside the Mark Hopkins Hotel in San Francisco on Sept. 20. A well-known TV commentator, watching a handsome, well-dressed woman applauding Premier Khrushchev, said to her: "You sure got a bunch of weird people here." She turned on him angrily and said: "We are trying to save a world for our children to live in. If that's weird, I plead guilty."

WHILE IT IS ABSURD TO SUGGEST that newspapermen are and must be "objective" at all times (we too are human), too many of the reporters on this trip went out of their way to apply preconceived prejudices to the story, and to present a distorted image deliberately to affect public opinion adversely—which is to say in the interest of maintaining the cold war. Do their publishers actually require so much of them? We wonder. Listen to this lead sentence in the San Francisco **Examiner** of Sept. 22: "Fast-talking Nikita Khrushchev carried his good-will sales campaign to San Francisco yesterday, still acting more like a peace-loving peasant than the most dangerous man in history."

In Paris, where the newspapers can be as venal as they come, the **Paris-Presse** delivered itself of this bit of snobbery from one of its three men on the tour:

"Every time I heard him speak he impressed me as addressing himself to his hosts with the self-conscious bumptiousness of a parvenu, a **nouveau riche**, constantly afraid he's being laughed at behind his back, that he's not being taken seriously.

NO MAN LIKES BEING LAUGHED AT, but that was not Premier Khrushchev's concern. Being taken seriously was. He was in dead earnest. What concerned him was that his hosts would not be serious, because frivolity or ill-will or deviousness can lead only to disaster. Khrushchev is a master politician, "in a class with Franklin Roosevelt and Churchill," said Chalmers Roberts of the Washington **Post**, who was on the tour: "He is a master, the most formidable in the world today." No one in his right mind can laugh at such a man.

Nor can anyone in his right mind mistake the reason for his trip: It bears directly on the hope of war or peace. It involves the whole human race. Anyone who deliberately seeks to reverse or halt the forward movement to sanity set in motion by his trip is an enemy of mankind. It's that simple and stark.

—James Aronson

CONVENTION TOLD DISUNITY HELPED 'REFORM' LAW

AFL-CIO fails to close rifts in face of anti-labor drive

By Robert E. Light

LABOR STUMBLED into convention in San Francisco, Sept. 17-23, like the losing boxer in a fixed fight. Passage of the punitive "labor reform" law by the "liberal" Congress brought cries of "we wuz robbed" from the still-punchy labor leaders. A. H. Raskin in the New York **Times** quipped: "No one had a good explanation of how labor managed to snatch defeat from the jaws of victory."

Some tried to blame the manager. At a pre-convention caucus of industrial unions, auto workers' president Walter Reuther and others singled out AFL-CIO president George Meany's "flabby leadership." They wanted the merged federation to develop some of the former CIO's muscle. Their slogan for the convention was: Close ranks against the enemy.

But at the convention not all could agree on who was the enemy. And the tough-sounding resolutions passed seemed to frighten the conservative craft unionists more than they will businessmen and politicians.

MITCHELL BOOED: In his keynote address Meany told the delegates that big business has launched a drive "to weaken, perhaps finally to destroy the trade union movement." He cited management's unbending position in the steel strike, the drive for local "right-to-work" laws and the Federal "labor reform" law. But, he added, the new law is "not as bad as its advocates would have it."

Stam, AFL-CIO News
The Wreckers

For most delegates the law was bad enough. When Secy. of Labor James P. Mitchell arrived, five delegations walked out. Others who remained booed and catcalled; no one applauded.

How the law came about was described by Rep. John F. Shelley (D-Calif.). He said: "It became a little discouraging for the 60 Congressmen who really believed in labor to learn that the building trades unions were saying to other Congressmen you can vote for any bill so long as our hiring clause is in it." Shelley also warned that next year some Congressmen will try to push through a national "right-to-work" bill and bills to put unions under the anti-trust laws, curb strikes by transportation unions and bar political spending by unions.

CHANGE NEEDED: He concluded: "You must be united behind a single program to repel the drive for such laws. You cannot have several departments, each walking off with its own legislative program."

Most agreed that labor needed to change its political tactics. But, one leader said, "what kind of a choice do we make when we have to pick between a reactionary Republican and a double-crossing Democrat?" Transport Union president Michael Quill had an answer. "It is time the American labor movement started to build a labor party," he said. Congressmen of both parties, he added, "double-crossed us and will continue to double-cross us again. The Kennedy brothers did as much as Senators McClellan and Goldwater and Mundt and the fakers who tried to cut our throats."

THE DIXIECRATS: Some thought labor had not been double-crossed as much as it was a victim of the Southern Democrats' control of Congress. The AFL-CIO executive council announced a drive to participate "even more fully" in the 1960 Southern primaries "to break the hold of unprincipled machines" and to "restore to the South the dignity and honor and devotion to democracy that constitute its splendid heritage."

Union leaders who have found organizing next to impossible in the South, thought the council was whistling Dixie. One commented privately: "We've got as much chance of making over the Dixiecrats in our image as we have of organizing a closed shop in the Natl. Assn. of Manufacturers."

THE STEEL STRIKE: Although some industrial union leaders thought it was "too little and too late," the convention took a firm stand in behalf of the steel strikers. It voted to ask all union members to donate one hour's pay a month to the strikers. If all members complied, a fund of $30,000,000 a month could be amassed. According to the resolution, any unspent money would go into a permanent special defense fund for strikers.

In addition, unions were urged to bring the strikers' case to the public in local communities. And the convention called on President Eisenhower not to invoke the Taft-Hartley law but instead to call the steel union and management to a White House conference. If the strike were not settled then, the convention asked the President to set up a fact-finding board to recommend terms.

Although the metal trades unions voted for the resolution, none spoke for it. The craft unions have had a running jurisdictional feud with the United Steel Workers. At a pre-convention meeting the metal trades department passed a resolution condemning the steel union.

FOREIGN POLICY: The only debate on foreign policy happened before the convention over whether the union leaders should meet Premier Khrushchev or ignore him. The ignorers, led by Meany, won but allowed others to "tell him off to his face" (see page 6). When Meany was asked at the convention if he would meet Khrushchev, he answered: "He should live so long."

THIS SYMBOL OF LABOR UNITY DIDN'T LAST
George Meany, A. Philip Randolph, the late Willard S. Townsend and Walter Reuther as they joined hands at the AFL-CIO merger convention in 1955

In his keynote address Meany said: "There is hanging over us as we meet here the grim shadow of Soviet power. Nothing we can do here is of greater importance than the question of how we meet the challenge." Without mentioning Khrushchev by name he referred to "the visitor in our midst" who recently "defended the Hitler-Stalin pact that launched World War II."

No delegates challenged Meany, but visitor Frank Cousins, secretary of the Transport Workers Union of Great Britain, said: "We in my own union want the ending of these nuclear tests for all time . . . We want the stopping of the manufacture of them [nuclear weapons] because as a noted American said, 'enough is enough'. When you get to the stage where you can blow up the world, you don't need to blow it up twice."

OTHER ACTIONS: On other matters the convention took these actions:

- Voted to re-admit on two years' probation the Intl. Longshoremen's Assn., expelled by the AFL in 1953 for "corruption."
- Directed the executive council to work out details of a plan to create an impartial panel to arbitrate inter-union disputes. A special convention is to be held next year to vote on the plan.
- Three textile unions agreed to pool resources in a Southern organizing drive. And six unions in air transport joined in a mutual aid alliance.
- Called for further wage increases and reduction of working hours through collective bargaining. And asked Congress for a Federal minimum wage of $1.25 an hour and reduction of the standard work week to 35 hours.

The only genuine debate at the convention was touched off by A. Philip Randolph's plea for a fight against jimcrow in unions (see below).

LOW POINT: Statistically labor is worse off now than before the merger. In 1955 before the merger, both federations organized 287,000 new members. In 1958 the merged group took in only 158,000 new members. Total membership in the AFL-CIO has dropped 80,000 since 1957, not including the expelled unions. When the federations joined they represented 30% of all non-farm workers; now they include only 26%.

Organization has virtually ceased. What new members are added come from raids on expelled unions.

In private many leaders indicated clearly they understand what is wrong with labor. But they are so out-of-shape for a real fight that they don't seem able to put the punch back into the trade union movement.

FLARE-UP MARS CONVENTION

Meany defends Negroes' 'rights' to jimcrow unions

IN A HEATED interchange that brought the AFL-CIO convention to a rip-snorting close, president George Meany and vice-president A. Philip Randolph were the spokesmen for two irreconcilable viewpoints on the question of labor's responsibility in the fight against discrimination.

Randolph had introduced motions to compel two railroad brotherhoods to junk their white-only membership clauses within six months or be expelled, and to order liquidation of all jimcrow locals in AFL-CIO international unions. Anything less, he contended, would make "a mockery of trade union morality."

But the resolutions committee was willing to settle for a good deal less. It proposed that the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen and the Brotherhood of Railroad Firemen and Enginemen be urged to fulfill the promises they had made two years ago to wipe out color bars, but that no time limit be set. With regard to segregated locals, the committee substituted the world "eliminate" for Randolph's stronger "liquidate," and again urged voluntary compliance.

HOT WORDS: Even this was too radical a step for Meany who insisted that unions had a right to maintain jimcrow locals because in some instances Negro unionists approved of them. When Randolph contended that it was not "logical" to separate workers on the basis of color no matter who wanted it, Meany shot back:

"That's your policy. Well, that's not my policy. I'm for the democratic rights of Negro members to maintain the unions they want." Then he demanded of Randolph: "Who the hell appointed you as the guardian of all the Negroes in America?"

Repeatedly and politely, Randolph sought a microphone to answer Meany but he wasn't granted equal time. Meany warned Randolph to play ball with labor's team and to stop devoting so much time to "outside" organizations. Randolph is an NAACP vice president, co-chairman of the Youth March for Integrated Schools movement, and chairman of a recently formed committee to set up a new national Negro labor council.

PIOUS PLATITUDES: Herbert Hill, NAACP labor secretary, called Meany's attempt to blame segregated locals on the Negro members "the sheerest fakery." He described the anti-discrimination resolutions passed by the convention as "more pious platitudes."

Following the convention, NAACP board chairman Channing H. Tobias wired Meany the organization's support of Randolph's stand. "Your solicitude for the desire of some unionists to remain segregated does not extend to the desire of some workers to reman unorganized in the face of union shop contracts, although the two situations are analogous," the telegram stated.

The conflict between the go-slow policies of the labor officials and the demands of the Negro workers is not new. In the early Fifties a National Negro Labor Council was organized to fight against discrimination in unions and in industry. Largely a product of left-wing initiative, it eventually disbanded because of the failure to secure support among the membership of the major AFL and CIO unions. Last year the NAACP for the first time made public a list of long-standing complaints about widespread discrimination in AFL-CIO international and local unions.

This led to a conference last March between Meany, Randolph, Hill and NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins. But the conference solved nothing and ended with an innocuous communique. The problems rose again at the San Francisco convention. This time, the debate not only failed to solve them, but aggravated them.

ON THE EVE OF ELECTIONS

Britain's Peace Week hails K's disarmament program

By Cedric Belfrage

REACTIONS HERE to Mr. K's American adventures, and his "scrap-the-lot" disarmament proposal, differ strikingly from those in the U.S. With Britain's 31 million cold-war-weary voters due to go to the polls Oct. 8, all parties and their press vie for the crown of "most likely to succeed in making peace." The normally jingoistic Beaverbrook papers cry "Do not rebuff him [Mr. K]," for Britain is "united on one issue, the desire for peace," and "determined to achieve peace by way of the Summit."

Tory and Labor leaders—though the former more cautiously — both "welcomed" Mr. K's disarmament proposal. "The whole world," says the **Daily Mirror**, "expects Americans to be their age and to act like it; any fool can pick a quarrel" over the past, but "the man-sized job now is to get agreement for the future on ending the nuclear arms race before it ends us." The Manchester **Guardian's** Washington man accused the U.S. press of "trying to wreck the talks."

PEACE WEEK: The paramount importance of peace as an election issue was also reflected in the generous, serious press treatment of the Trafalgar Square rally Sept. 20, which climaxed a Britain-wide Nuclear Disarmament Week. Right-wing papers put the crowd at 12,000.

Bertrand Russell got the headlines with his phrase "the politics of bedlam" for the government's "nuclear defense" policy, which consoles residents of this greatest of all H-bomb bases that a few minutes after they die hundreds of millions of the enemy will also be atomized. Mr. K's proposal was cheered at similar weekend rallies around the country, and scores of Nuclear Disarmament marches brought the "Ban the Bomb" slogan into highways and byways. Week-long picketing of the Prime Minister's home was started by writers and theater celebrities (John Osborne, Mary Ure, Doris Lessing) and wound up by clergymen and top artists. On the 21st a "star galaxy" (Sir Michael Redgrave, Dames Peggy Ashcroft and Sybil Thorndike, Constance Cummings, Benjamin Britten, etc.) gave their services for a Nuclear Disarmament midnight show at Festival Hall.

Franklin, London Daily Mail

Eighteen days before election day, the Trafalgar Square rally showed more clearly than ever the political frustration of the country's most active citizens' movement. While some speakers urged voting Labor despite that party's pussyfooting on the Bomb, groups participating in the campaign distributed pleas to vote for no candidate who wouldn't take a clear stand. The campaign had listed 21 Labor candidates supporting its position as individuals.

OLD AND YOUNG: An old lady in the square, wearing a "Votes for Women" button and grasping a white-green-purple flag ("the flag our leader Emily Davidson wrapped round her before throwing herself in front of the king's horse)," explained to curious members of the crowd: "Parties don't mean anything—only the old suffragette spirit can win this campaign."

Even more than on the last Aldermaston march the anti-Bomb demonstrators were overwhelmingly young folk, who hardly knew what the old lady was talking about but showed little enthusiasm for the "Vote Labor" appeals. Marching later with their home-made banners to St. Paul's Cathedral, the mile-long column obviously impressed the dense concentrations of onlookers. Pony-tailed girls with their boy friends, families with baby carriages and dogs and balloons and ice-cream cones, interspersed occasionally with robed Africans and clergymen and politically knit groupings, they resembled no ordinary demonstration seen by Londoners. They just looked like the people next door multiplied by a few thousand.

The Trades Union Congress' Sir Vincent Tewson, who had steamrollered down the Transport Workers' anti-Bomb resolution on the ground that Britain "must not be undefended," was described at the rally as "living in another world" from ordinary people who understand the meaning of the Lunik. But John Horner, Fire Brigades Union leader who ridiculed Tewson, told the demonstrators that the TUC debate on the issue and the big anti-Bomb vote were a great tribute to their agitation, showing that their cause would soon win the day.

OUTCOME UNCERTAIN: With the "don't knows" still exceeding 10% in public opinion polls, the election outcome remains uncertain; Labor has gained some ground in the polls but Tory confidence is reflected in the buoyant London stock market. For a majority, Labor needs at least 35 gains. The party has listed 66 "winnable seats," and general secy. Morgan Phillips said last January that £100,000 had already been spent on softening up these and other marginal constituencies. (Phillips himself, a right-winger, ran for the nomination in a "safe" coal-mining constituency and was rejected by the local party in a plain snub to the national party machine.) Under the British electoral system and geographical concentration of classes, a "landslide" for the Tories can be won with a much smaller swing in the national vote than is needed for a Labor win.

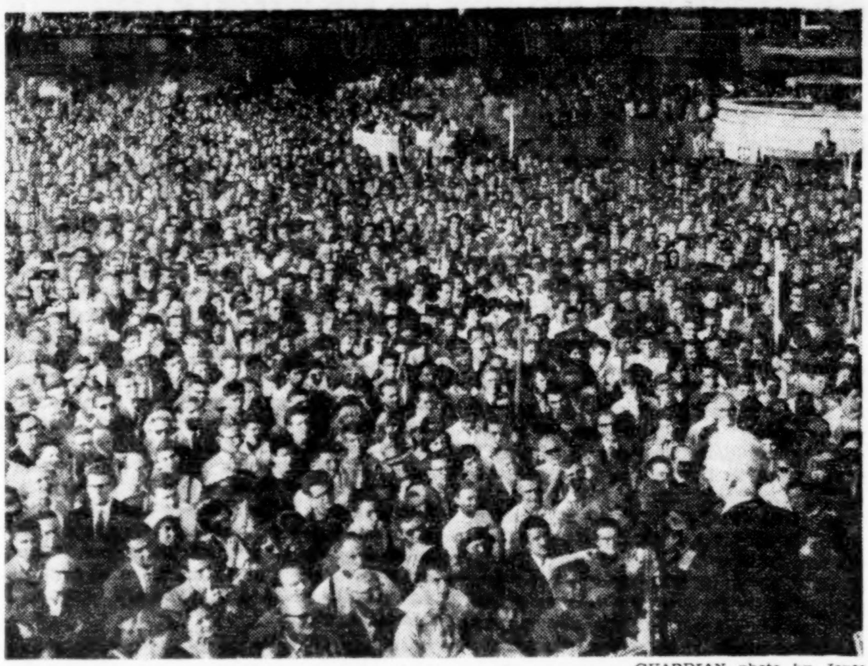
Labor is pushing its "best at the Summit" claim with reminders of its opponents' involvement in defiance of international law at Suez, and of Foreign Minister Selwyn Lloyd's supremely asinine comment on Lunik that "people are not terribly interested."

The Tories are making hay with reminders of the famous London dinner-party where Labor leaders insulted "B and K" (Beaverbrook's **Evening Standard** has run this as a sensational four-part serial story.) Many ordinary voters find all this rather irrelevant since both parties are supporting NATO with equal fervor.

WELFARE STATE: On the domestic front both parties promise more "welfare state" solicitude but Labor would spend much more than the Tories. The supposedly neutral **Times** wonders where the money would come from since Labor's only proposed new tax is on capital gains, and "there is no suggestion that large sums can be transferred from defense expenditure."

Labor says it would get the money from "planned economic expansion," but only steel and road haulage would be added to the nationalized sector to make such "planning" possible. It suggests, rather ominously, that its power to "win full cooperation" from the unions—presumably to accept continued wage freezes—will help it to exercise the "necessary controls."

The Liberal Party, with its manifesto entitled "People Count" (an "apt phrase" according to the Liberal Manchester **Guardian**), may here and there split the vote in Labor's favor, but appears from the opinion polls to be heading for near-disaster.



GUARDIAN photo by Joyce

BETRAND RUSSELL (lower right) SPEAKS AT TRAFALGAR SQ. PEACE RALLY

He called the government's "nuclear defense" policy "the politics of bedlam."

GOVERNMENT CONSIDERING WHAT TO DO 'IF PEACE BREAKS OUT'

Mr. K's U. S. trip brings vast sense of relief to Rome

By Ursula Wassermann
Guardian staff correspondent

ROME

IT LOOKS HERE almost as if peace had broken out: in brilliant sunshine the city displays itself and its countless treasures to a crowd of tourists unusual even for this most visited of all cities. Rome the Eternal makes one feel as if it had never known war, either hot or cold. Many tend to forget, and some are only too anxious to forget, the sufferings undergone by this once Open City and the bloody fighting that took place up and down this beautiful country, from Sicily to Lombardy.

Rome itself has long wished to forget the ravages of war and fascism, but under the stress of Trieste and later under the graver, if less direct, threat of the cold war, only those totally blind to reality could dismiss the dangers. The cold war, which brought American military bases, posed as grave a threat to the security of this country as any in Europe.

Moreover, successive Christian-Democratic governments began to develop a sort of vested interest in the continuation of East-West tension on which their entire foreign policy—and consequently part of their domestic policy—had long been based. It was easier to defend reduced social services and cuts in funds for health and education when they could be blamed on the vast defense expenditure made necessary by the cold war and by the demands of Italy's allies.

A CHANGE OCCURRING: While obstructionism here never equaled that of Paris or Bonn, the East-West conflict remained the basic platform for government policy. If nothing has changed overnight, government thinking is in the process of changing today. It is being said here that when Signor Segni returned from his meeting with Eisenhower in Paris last month, he called in his colleagues to explain that the time had come to do some serious thinking on what Italy's position would be "if peace breaks out."

Conversations with friends, and press reports, make it clear that a good deal of thinking and re-thinking is being done at present. While the Khrushchev visit is given star billing—an average of two-fifths to one-half of every newspaper issue is being devoted to it—the right-wing press, while refraining from sneers, remains suspicious of Russia's intentions and of Eisenhower's ability not to be double-crossed.

Yet the suspicion is not colored by malice, venom or fear as it is in Bonn—partly, of course, because no vital Italian interests are involved, but also because the country as a whole would welcome peace with open arms.

I asked two Roman friends, men who have spent their lives fighting fascism and post-war reaction, to what extent people are affected by the world-shaking news and events?

SENSE OF RELIEF: "People here are not really political," one said while the other nodded agreement. "I don't think anyone is taking a very active interest—except those, of course, whose business is politics. It is rather like a vast sigh of relief. The prosperous have settled back to enjoy their prosperity with a better conscience, while the vast majority seem to feel that at last there is a chance of living in peace, even if in poverty, and of dying in bed rather than of being blown to pieces. It is as if an incurable patient had suddenly been told that his illness was not malignant after all. He may still not be well; he may have no money; but nothing really matters for the moment except this sensation of unmitigated relief."

This is the impression one gets almost everywhere, even in a press still reluctant either to admit the apparently impossible or to go overboard with enthusiasm. The left-wing press, from the Communists to the Social Democrats, has welcomed the thaw, but enthusiasm is more subdued than it might have been three years ago.

But on one thing Left and Right and the great mass of Romans are united: the Lunik's landing on the moon was received with unqualified delight, free of suspicion, malice or envy, as a sensational and dramatic scientific achievement.

JUDGE PROPOSES BARRING PUERTO RICANS

New York officials testify on cause and cure of youth crime

By Louis E. Burnham

FOR TWO DAYS, Sept. 23 and 24, Sen. Thomas C. Hennings (D-Mo.) sat in New York's Federal courthouse as a one-man subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee gathering information on the extent, and proposals for the cure, of juvenile delinquency. Even as the Senator sat, police rounded up 27 members of the Sinners and the Valiant Crowns just in time to prevent their meeting in a revenge rumble. On a Bronx roof where the Crowns awaited the Sinners' invasion of "their territory" the cops found an arsenal including neatly stacked bricks, nine Molotov cocktails (gasoline bombs), a shotgun, hunting knives and a quantity of .22 caliber shells.

Someone would have been killed if the rumble had not been averted, police officials said. In fact, during the month preceding the hearings five teen-agers had been slain in eruptions of gang warfare on New York streets. The Senator, it seems, could not have begun his series of nationwide investigations at a more appropriate place or time.

WHAT TO DO: When the sessions were over, the Senator had gathered, as others had done in the past, a set of solid but routine proposals for coping with what all the witnesses agreed was a most extraordinary situation. Mayor Wagner, Sen. Jacob K. Javits, Rep. Emanuel Celler, Judge Samuel S. Liebowitz and an array of social workers and civic personalities all chipped in with recommendations. Included were suggestions for legislation to: (1) prohibit the interstate transportation of arms; (2) appropriate Federal funds to train state experts on delinquency; (3) transfer Federal properties to the state and localities for youth detention homes; (4) penalize the distribution of obscene material through the mail; (5) establish a nationwide network of work camps for youth, and (6) spend $100,000,000 to subsidize social agencies and set up Federal regional offices to help cities absorb new migrants.

WHERE DID YOU GO? Simultaneously, the New York City Council was considering a number of proposals closer to the local level. Various councilmen proposed holding parents responsible for their children's acts of vandalism, providing more lights for dark streets, equipping cops on the morning shift with night sticks and building recreation centers in all new housing projects. One member sought to stem the tide of youth crime

A VICTIM OF A YOUTH GANG WHISPERS HIS LAST WORDS
John Guzman, 17, lies on the steps of a New York high school where he was fatally shot on September 21

by popularizing among parents the slogan: "Where Were Your Kids Last Night?"

What would come out of the lawmakers' deliberations was anybody's guess. Thus far in New York the main results of the highly-publicized youth murders had been beefing up the police force by 1,400 new cops and a widespread and growing public animosity toward the Puerto Rican minority whose children had figured prominently in the killings, both as victims and offenders.

The newspapers have done their bit to fan the flames. The **Herald Tribune** referred to the "jungle sub-culture" of the youthful delinquents. Other dailies never miss an opportunity to call them "punks" and "animals." Crowds that gathered at a police station as Puerto Rican gang members were rounded up in connection with the fatal stabbing of two youths cried out, "Lynch them!"

PUERTO RICANS STAY HOME: At the Senate hearings Judge Liebowitz translated the anti-Puerto Rican venom into a program: Reduce the crime rate among New York's Puerto Rican citizens by discouraging their migration to the city. Not only Puerto Ricans, but immigrants from all parts of the Caribbean, should remain on their islands until the city has had a chance to eliminate its crime-breeding slums, he said.

While the judge did not also propose that Negroes should be discouraged from leaving the rural areas of the South in search of better opportunities, such a proposal would be a reasonable extension of his program. For the figures he introduced to justify his proposals were calculated to show that Puerto Ricans and Negroes contribute more than their proportionate share of the city's crimes.

Statistics compiled by the Domestic Relations Court revealed that while Puerto Ricans were 7.17% of the city's population, they accounted for 22.3% of the youth brought before the court as delinquents. At the state's Warwick Training School for boys Puerto Rican youngsters accounted for 20.8% of the inmates, Negroes for another 46.3%. In the State reception center and reformatory at Elmira similar proportions prevailed.

UNFAIR COMPARISON: The figures adduced by Liebowitz were promptly challenged as unfair by Joseph Monserrat, director of the New York office of Puerto Rico's Migration Division. Monserrat pointed out that "a legitimate comparison cannot be made between a percentage of juvenile delinquents and a percentage of the total population."

"Obviously," Monserrat said, "only juveniles can become juvenile delinquents. When a comparison is made between the proportion of the juvenile population which is Puerto Rican and the proportion given in the court's report it is clear that the Puerto Rican child is only slightly above his quota if at all in some areas. For example, Puerto Rican school children comprise some 33% of Manhattan's school children, while their proportion of court cases is less than 30%."

The day before Liebowitz made his proposal leaders of 162 organizations linked together in the Puerto Rican Community Self-Help Program had inserted full-page ads in New York newspapers in an effort to dispel the hysteria which had been building up against them. They pointed out that Puerto Ricans are involved in but 8% of the city's crimes, youth and adult; that until recently juvenile delinquency was practically unknown in Puerto Rico; and that a 1957 Board of Education study revealed that Puerto Rican children "had a lower delinquency rate than the other children in the same neighborhood."

What was most disturbing was that, given agreement on a given set of figures, it seemed unlikely there would be a consensus as to what the statistics really mean. In the juvenile delinquency field there are almost as many proposals for cure as there are experts.

NEW YORK CONFERENCE ON ELECTORAL POLICY

Independent-Socialist parley leans toward '60 race

A CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE on 1960 electoral policy, called by the New York United Independent-Socialist Committee Sept. 26-27, heard invited representatives of the Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party present opposing views on the possibilities of an independent-socialist Presidential ticket which might get on the 1960 ballot in 8-12 states, including New York and Michigan.

In-between views by members of the UI-SC administrative committee proposed local organization and intervention in selected Congressional races; or a ballot effort in as many states as possible, with the decision on Presidential candidates to await developments in the labor movement and within the Democratic Party.

Well over 200 attended the conference, and their sentiments—judged by applause and a series of 5-10-minute arguments during the two days — were strongly for a position advanced by Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein, 1958 Independent-Socialist candidate for Lieutenant-Governor in New York, concurring with the SWP position and calling for a Presidential ticket even if only in one state such as New York. Several of the speakers called for Dr. Rubinstein as the top candidate.

SWP INVOKES K: The CP position was presented by New York State CP executive secretary William Albertson, who said that "given effective mass work by all progressive forces, the Democratic Convention could be influenced as to its program and candidates, and it is possible to elect an administration responsive in some respects at least, to the needs of the people and the supreme necessity of easing world tensions and of guaranteeing peaceful coexistence."

In what appeared to be a loosening of CP opposition to independent candidacies at any level, Albertson envisaged such candidacies in areas where the old parties both offered reactionary candidates for Congress or other local offices. He urged the formation of independent political committees to undertake such candidacies and to work for an ultimate mass party of labor, farmer, Negro and other groups.

Murry Weiss, a member of the national SWP committee as well as of the UI-SC administrative committee, presenting the SWP position, was able to point out to his CP opponent that on three occasions during the Khrushchev visit the Soviet leader had stated that he could see no difference between the Democratic and Republican parties. Weiss urged an independent-socialist Presidential ticket against the two major parties, which "each in its own way performs the functions of monopoly capitalism; and said that failing such a ticket, the SWP would run its own wherever possible.

OTHER VIEWS: Of the "in-between" positions, John T. McManus, I-SP candidate for Governor in New York in 1958, called for a ballot effort in as many states as possible for 1960, but urged a "flexible policy" toward a Presidential ticket which could take advantage of developments in the labor movement and in the two-party system as a result of the beginnings of the thaw in the cold war.

Irving Beinin, speaking for himself and other UI-SC committee members, urged the UI-SC to become the basis for a "left-wing bloc" in New York City to consider possible Congressional candidacies and other political activity devoted to the advancement of peaceful coexistence and other popular objectives.

LABOR THIRD PARTY? A special guest speaker at the Saturday session was Cleveland labor leader Sam Pollock, president of Local 427, Amalgamated Butcher Workers and Meat Cutters Union, and a returning delegate from the AFL-CIO Convention in San Francisco. Pollock reported on the AFL-CIO Convention resolution calling on the Executive Council to study the feasibility of launching a labor political party. "The possibility of independent political action by labor is becoming greater, not less," Pollock said. He urged socialists to press forward their own program for labor's independent political action "right now, not in the future."

A memorandum already being circulated among independent union heads in the New York area was reported by McManus. Noting a "growing, if slow, disillusionment with the major political parties," the memorandum advanced the view that "it is timely to attempt to mobilize for action on a progressive program" among labor's rank and file.

At the conclusion of the conference, the UI-SC announced that it would meet Oct. 13 to discuss the views of the conference and the UI-SC's future course.

Mr. K ends his American tour happy

(Continued from Page 1)

was glad to meet an American worker at long last, he said: "I will be back."

A GOOD WAGE: When he returned shortly after, the hall was jammed with cheering longshoremen. One union member swapped his longshore cap for Mr. K's fedora, and the visitor promptly put it on. He told the men that peace was important, but peace is not enough. "There must also be work and a good wage." The shouts went to the rafters.

A tour official asked Bridges to stand behind the shorter Mr. K at the mike. Sure, said Bridges, "I'll stand behind him. He's a good man. I may even give him a job." San Francisco was a wonderful port, said Mr. K, "looking out on the Pacific right across to Vladivostok." Said Bridges: "And China too." Bridges introduced his wife Nikki, whose baby was due any day then. Mr. K beamed.

The visit was not as casual as it appeared. It seemed to be a tribute to the ILWU, a fiercely independent and honest union, and the only American union which has sent a delegation to the Soviet Union in recent years. Further, it came the morning after an incredible quiz between Mr. K and a group of trade union leaders led by Walter Reuther, head of the United Auto Workers.

To those reporters willing to talk about the significance of the visit, it seemed clear that to Mr. K it was in the nature of a good hot bath after a session in the swampland of official labor leadership.

REUTHER'S SHOW: After the session with Mr. K, Reuther called a press conference, appropriately enough in the Peacock Room of the Mark Hopkins, and Walter spread his tail feathers. He wouldn't let his colleagues get anywhere near the microphone. He even waved one union leader back to his seat when the man wanted to speak.

Facing him were 400 reporters and about 200 guests of the hotel who had wandered in. It was a most bizarre press conference. Reuther spoke of the hard time they had given their visitor and indicated that they had him on the ropes. This brought a round of mock applause from the newspapermen who, whatever they think of Mr. K, knew after a week of watching him in action that he is perhaps the quickest man on his feet in the political ring today.

Reuther said Mr. K threatened a couple of times to walk out. The rudeness of the questions would seem to justify the threat, but the statement was denied later. The UAW leader also attributed to Mr. K this statement: "I am the dictator of the working class and I will protect them against capitalistic propaganda." Asked about this the next day, Mr. K said it was a complete distortion. What he had said was this: He favored a dictatorship by the working classes "when they are not strong in the first days of a revolution . . . in order to suppress their enemies. But in Russia this was no longer necessary."

Did that mean, he was asked, that Russia had reached the stage where a dictatorship of the proletariat was no longer necessary? "Undoubtedly," he replied. "We don't have classes any more. That is why we propose a disarmament program. That is why we have reduced the strength of our militia, secret police and other organs of repression."

REUTHER CONTRADICTED: The summary of the session with Mr. K, issued by the labor leaders themselves, was quite at variance with Reuther's report to the press which Joe Curran, head of the Natl. Maritime Union, and Emil Rieve, president emeritus of the Textile Workers, later called "a lot of nonsense." Nonetheless, the San Francisco press gave page one play to Reuther's conference, and even failed to attribute some of its details to Reuther, although Reuther was the only source of information. Some newspapermen at the conference stopped taking notes because they knew there was no way of checking Reuther's accuracy.

A RELAXED MR. K
He was waiting for a plane

One American radio reporter asked Reuther why the press had not been permitted to observe the actual conference with Mr. K. Reuther said it would have been impossible to accommodate 400 reporters.

The answer was not valid because on many occasions on this tour, when it would have been impossible to let 400 persons in on an event, officials named "pools" of about ten men, including the major world wire services, radio networks, morning and evening papers and the magazines. These pools reported later at press briefings. The only inference was that Reuther wanted it to be his show and the report to be his report. The whole thing sat poorly, even with reporters hostile to the Khrushchev visit.

SOME EXCERPTS: Ten Americans were present, including James B. Carey, head of the Intl. Union of Electrical Workers, and two of his assistants, and eight Russians, among whom were Foreign Minister Gromyko and Ambassador Menshikov.

In Moscow on Sept. 24, a statement attributed to the Soviet press group traveling with the Premier and distributed by **Tass** news agency accused Reuther of "fantastic inventions" in his report of the exchange. It said there were "gross distortions" both in Reuther's press conference statements and in the summary issued the day after.

Noting that Reuther several times had refused to let his colleagues speak up during the interview with Mr. K, the Soviet statement quoted the Premier as saying at one point to the UAW leader: "You are like a nightingale. When singing it closes its eyes, sees and hears nothing and no one except itself."

The statement said this brought a burst of laughter and some high color to Reuther's cheeks.

Following are excerpts of the summary given out by the labor leaders Sept. 21:

REUTHER: Is the Soviet Union prepared to contribute to the ending of the cold war by joining the U.S. in a cooperative effort to aid the underprivileged nations to abolish poverty and ignorance?

KHRUSHCHEV: In our proposal which I submitted on behalf of the U.S.S.R. [to the United Nations], it is made clear that the outlays on armaments would be greatly reduced and a certain percentage of the reduction switched from the amount saved to the underprivileged countries.

REUTHER: I am familiar with the steel plant [built with U.S.S.R. help] in India and other enterprises. When you do it, it's part of the cold war. When we do it, you charge it's capitalistic imperialism. Why can't we do it together? Through the UN?

KHRUSHCHEV: America has now surrounded us with military bases, alliances such as NATO and SEATO, and by these means the United States wants to obtain world domination. In the UN we are always outvoted. Thus it would be up to the U.S. to decide how the money would be used. . . . The U.S. exploits the wealth of other countries . . . We do not exploit any country—we only engage in trade.

REUTHER: You exploit the workers of East Germany.

KHRUSHCHEV: Where did you dream that up?

REUTHER: If you don't exploit them, why should 3,000,000 of them cross the border into West Germany?

KHRUSHCHEV: You are hopelessly sick with capitalist fever.

REUTHER: Do you have credentials to speak for the workers of the world?

KHRUSHCHEV: Do you have credentials to poke your nose in East Germany?

* * *

CURRAN: Will the workers be permitted to exercise freedom to secure redress of their grievances by the only test of industrial democracy, the right to strike, the right collectively to withhold their labor power? When will workers be able to negotiate agreements in Russia, including the right to strike?

KHRUSHCHEV: I quite understand you, but you do not understand anything of the workings of the socialist system. You measure everything by American standards. They do have those rights [to negotiate and strike]. Have there been strikes since the October Revolution? Yes. I spoke at some of the strike meetings. Are there strikes now? No. Because workers and unions and the government have one thought, because in what other country would the government announce that wages would be raised and the working day reduced without pressure? . . . In capitalist countries they would need to fight for this.

* * *

O. A. KNIGHT (Oil Workers): Why did you oppose a democratic vote for reunification of Germany?

KHRUSHCHEV: It depends not on me but on the two Germanies.

KNIGHT: But you take a position against democratic reunification in your propaganda throughout the world.

KHRUSHCHEV: Tell me where I said that.

KNIGHT: Why did the Russians interfere in Hungary?

KHRUSHCHEV: There was no interference. There was a counter-revolution; thugs and hooligans who received arms from outside and took over power in Budapest. And the government asked us for aid and we gave it. We are proud of it as a feat. There would be fascism there if we had not.

* * *

PAUL PHILLIPS (United Papermakers): He brought up the question of the jamming of Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America.

KHRUSHCHEV: What do you prefer for dinner? What is your favorite dish?

PHILLIPS: Probably roast beef.

KHRUSHCHEV: I, borscht . . . You continue to enjoy roast beef, and I borscht.

REUTHER: Why can't we believe in our system of individual freedom without your feeling it is a necessity to say that we are betraying the workers?

KHRUSHCHEV: We did not come to this meeting to aggravate our relations. They are bad enough as they are. Let us not raise questions that disunite us. Let us join efforts for peace. Let us not be hotheaded. Questions like Hungary are pinpricks. What good do they do? Suppose we raised the question of Guatemala?

Where there's Hope

BOB HOPE was quoted by Alexei Adzhubei as giving the reason why Mr. K was not permitted to visit Disneyland. He said: "It's because it has the only functioning rocket in the U.S.A."

The American Way

AFTERWARD, Mrs. Lodge took her guests [Mme. Khrushchev and her party] to see "The Music Man" at the Majestic Theater. It is a light-hearted musical comedy about a confidence man who swindles the folks in a small Iowa town and make them love it. A representative of the Majestic Theater said the show had been chosen by Ambassador Lodge because it was "so American."

—New York **Times**, Sept. 18.

Another labor leader speaks

Following is a statement on American labor and the Khrushchev visit made by Harry Bridges, president of the independent Intl. Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, to the GUARDIAN and two European newspapermen who met with him Sept. 21.

MR. MEANY AND MR. REUTHER represent the leading warmongers of the United States. They would wage a holy war which would destroy the whole world rather than agree to coexistence. They are to the right of Eisenhower and Nixon in this sense. The world should not think they represent the workers' point of view in America and the workers throughout the world should not be misled by their statements and policies.

It is true that they speak for many organized workers, but I too feel that I know something of the feelings and aspirations of the workers, and I feel that, given a choice, the workers will choose peaceful negotiations and disarmament over a catastrophic world war. Meany and Reuther and others claim to speak for the American workers in urging rearmament of West Germany. This is insane.

I have yet to find a substantial number of American workers willing to go to war and shed blood over the right of the Federal German Republic to be equipped with and use nuclear weapons against the Soviets or anyone else.

The visit of Premier Khrushchev is a history-making event and a chance at last for the American people and workers to see the head of a great state and a Communist in the flesh, and not to be guided by what they read in the not-so-free press. Mr. Khrushchev, in advancing his disarmament proposal at the UN, was not saying anything much different from Franklin D. Roosevelt's proposal in 1937—that all the arms a man should have in this country is what he can carry on his shoulder. There is a distinct similarity in both statements. War is profit and arms are profit.

After seeing the behavior of the leaders of labor and the leaders of the Democratic Party, I am goddam glad I am a Republican.

REUTHER: How can you say that [the American workers] are wage slaves making this kind of wages [he threw across the table a list of wage rates].

KHRUSHCHEV: We say what we do in retaliation for what you say about us. Take, for example, Meany's speeches. I read most of them. He sounds like Dulles.

* * *

As though to bear out Khrushchev on Meany, and the Russian charge of provocation, the AFL head sent a hurry-up emergency call to Anna Kethly, a member of the Nagy government, in the turmoil of the Hungarian uprising now living in New York, to come out to speak to the AFL-CIO convention the very day that Khrushchev was in town.

These things were not lost on the visitor. At the IBM plant at San Jose, the day before he left San Francisco, he said with some puzzlement: "Whenever we meet with businessmen we have no hot conflicts. We meet together frankly as businessmen and we don't try to interfere with each other's philosophies. But often when I meet with your trade union leaders or your politicians, things are not so smooth."

Mr. K had made his greatest understatement of the trip.

EN ROUTE TO DES MOINES

ANOTHER MIDNIGHT FLIGHT and a cramped time once again to reflect on the flood of events—big and little. The White House calls anew not to be beastly to Mr. K. Washington is worried. David Perlman in the San Francisco **Chronicle** reports they feel the visitor really means business, that while the visit is "partly a politically advantageous one for the folks back home [in the U.S.S.R.] it really is a solid effort to talk out cold war issues with the American public and above all Eisenhower." It is hard for American reporters to accept the fact that Soviet internal politics do not work quite the same way as the American brand.

It is also a little difficult for Mr. K to understand that some American politicians are not exactly falling over themselves to get an endorsement from him—and that even jests make for squirming. "Do you want me to campaign for you?" he asks San Francisco's Mayor Christopher, up for reelection. "I prefer you confine your campaign activities to your own bailiwick," says the Mayor.

KIDS ARE GREAT: Mrs. K has been getting a great press. The ugliness of the first news stories boomeranged. The reason: Mrs. K's own sweet personality and the revulsion felt by most readers over the unkind and unprecedented physical detail of the reporting. She has been on her own a good deal, shopping, sight-seeing, and doing pretty much what she likes. At one school she visited, a little girl rushed up to her and said: "I saw your husband yesterday!" The kids are great. One asked Mr. K if they had as good hot dogs in Russia as we have here. Invariably, the Soviet party, official or press, warms up when there are children around.

There's speculation on the plane: What will Des Moines be like? It's Mr. K's kind of country. Will it outdo San Francisco? It takes a little doing to explain to the reporters from abroad that the temper of America changes with the land and the climate and the kind of work; that Midwesterners, except for Chicago and a few other big cities, are not as demonstrative (pro or con) as the people who live on the coasts; that they shy away from showing their feelings, even though they feel things deeply.

THE SUPERMARKET WASN'T THE SAME AFTER THIS VISIT
Henry Cabot Lodge has to use his elbow to hold his place

DES MOINES

A HOT AND MUGGY day, the first unpleasant one of the trip, and the army of reporters was convoyed once again from the airport into the city, only to find that the hotel rooms were not ready and wouldn't be for six hours and more. The State Dept. people on the trip, who have really been doing their utmost to make things easier, got it in the neck. "Do you want a bunch of dead newspapermen on your hands?" screamed one syndicated woman columnist.

The trouble lay back in Washington, where the State Dept., failing to gauge the fantastic interest in the trip, fobbed the arrangements off on a group of inexperienced men. Most of us have been going on three hours of sleep a night, and some nights no sleep at all. There are many tired typewriters.

Mr. K, who had tasted an open car for the first time on his way to the airport in San Francisco, insisted on and got another for the arrival in Des Moines. It was a powder blue Cadillac. All the TV and radio stations in the area pooled forces to cover the arrival. The Des Moines **Register** and the **Tribune** had 10 to 12 pages on Mr. K even before the arrival. After all, it was they who had initiated the first exchange in 1955, when a Soviet agricultural delegation visited Iowa. (Mr. K at Coon Rapids the next day paid public tribute to the papers. Indeed, they gave the fullest and fairest coverage by the press in any city visited.)

POLITE GREETING: The welcome in Des Moines was Midwestern: polite, interested, showing a somewhat embarrassed pleasure, and not nearly so much open curiosity as on the East Coast. And almost no hostility. Along the Khrushchev route from the airport to the Hotel Fort Des Moines, there was a single nasty sign. It read: "The Only Good Communist is a Deadone." (The Chicago **Tribune** put that picture on page one.) The bearer held it aloft until his neighbors told him they would tear it to shreds if he did not take it down. He did. Iowans are a hospitable people.

Around the hotel the crowd was big and friendly. Mr. K liked it. In all, 25,000 persons turned out to say hello—the biggest crowd proportionately of the trip, if not the most enthusiastic.

A side note: A remarkable change has come over the usually stolid-faced Foreign Minister Gromyko. He's all smiles.

The same afternoon Mr. K visited a meat-packing plant and the John Deere farm machinery plant outside Des Moines. There it was noticed for the first time that he seemed weary. He looked at the tractors, but he seemed not to see. The impression of fatigue was confirmed that night when he allowed his interpreter to read his speech for him at the civic banquet. It was a good one too—perhaps his most fervent and eloquent plea for peace yet. The 600 dinner guests, Adlai Stevenson and Roswell Garst among them, gave him a standing ovation at the end.

DAY ON THE FARM: Next day was down-on-the-farm day. It was another whirlwind journey, through the Iowa countryside and to the Coon Rapids farm of Garst, who had visited the Soviet Union twice. More banter on how to grow corn; some compliments from Mr. K on farm production in the U.S. (the average American farmer produces five times as much food as the average Russian farm worker, according to the Des Moines **Register**); and some chopped corn stalks hurled at the photographers by an irate Garst (he's not especially popular in Des Moines, and there were a few remarks about his being the "typical American farmer" with his thousands of acres of land holdings and corn seed plant). Some reporters got kicked too, it was reported later. From the Garst farm, the party went to the experimental station of the Iowa State University of Agriculture and Science at Ames.

For the most part, Des Moines took the visit in stride. People went about their business; the Rural Electrification Assn. convention met even as Mr. K arrived (one delegate said: "Wish we could have taken the time to see him, but there's too much to be done. But there's no ill feeling.") Four girls were suspended from high school for playing hookey to see the visitor. A boy knocked on the door of the Garst farm and asked to see the bed Mr. K would sleep in. A Coon Rapids service station operator sold 700 gallons of gas in one day, double his usual quota. "The cars were really pouring in," he said, "from Nebraska, Minnesota, Illinois, Missouri and even South Dakota."

IOWA UNDERSTOOD: The newspapers were full of ads addressed to Mr. K, all of them friendly, and all of them aware that a good outcome to the visit could only mean good business. Economics writer J. A. Livingston summed it up in the Des Moines **Tribune** on Sept. 22:

"The visit of Premier Khrushchev could have favorable long-term economic repercussions here—in spite of occasional Wall Street jitters. Khrushchev is here for business. He wants—and President Eisenhower has the same aim—a relaxation of tension, a reduction in armaments. This suits Khrushchev's need. It will help him carry forward his industrial expansion program. It will assist him in satisfying the still-great wants of the Russian people for clothes, housing, conveniences and food.

"Improvement in Soviet-American relations would innovate slow but sure changes. Gradually we'd reduce expenditures for armaments and cut the size of the armed forces. We would be able to balance the budget, and even generate surplus. Taxes would be reduced. Consumers could splurge."

It seemed the ablest interpretation of what Mr. K was trying to say at the United Nations just four days earlier.

Iowa understood. In its own way, it made Mr. K welcome, heard him out, said there's plenty of room for talk, and then went on with the work.

PITTSBURGH

THE IRON CITY looked as though a state of siege had been declared. From the airport to the center of the city the roads were lined and dotted with police—county, town and city. In the dark and quiet of the 45-minute drive, made even more ominous by gloomy steel mills shut down by strike, you had the feeling that an enemy was approaching. After Iowa it was incongruous.

Outside the Carleton House, despite the late hour, huge crowds had gathered to await the visitor; our first busload of reporters was the advance party. The crowds were cheerful; there were a few placards. One woman held aloft a sign reading: "Save St. Peter's Church." It had nothing to do with "him," she explained; it was just that she wanted people to know the church was threatened with demolition in an urban renewal project. Another sign, carried by a smiling man, said simply: "Visit the Moon."

APPREHENSIVE MOOD: The ultimate in security was uncovered in a visit to the men's room at the Carleton House. There two cops were on guard between the wash basins and the urinal. We asked whether they expected any trouble. They were silent. "Do you expect a Hungarian demonstration?" we asked. "We're all Americans here, mister," said one. He noted the press card on the lapel and then added: "I fought in Korea and in World War II, and as far as I am concerned there could be a few **more** demonstartions."

"The whole idea of the exchange of visits is to try to make sure that neither you nor anyone else will be going off to war," we said. "Don't you think so?" He lapsed back into silence and we left to catch the arrival. The feeling was still one of apprehension.

But it was unwarranted. At midnight

(Continued on Page 9)

Thank you, Bay area

JAMES ARONSON, THE GUARDIAN editor, took a couple of hours off from his coverage of the Khrushchev tour in San Francisco on Sunday night, Sept. 19. He crossed the Bay to the home of Vivian and Vincent Hallinan in Ross, Calif., where a hastily-gathered and extremely interested group of GUARDIAN friends were waiting to hear his half-way report on the tour.

After a most pleasant dinner and a talk and a question-and-answer session (participated in by two European correspondents who came along), he came back to San Francisco refreshed and a bit heavier—with contributions which went a good part of the way toward paying the expenses of the trip.

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BOOKS

'Folk Blues' will tell you how to sing 'em

IT IS TO BE DOUBTED that anyone who has never really had the blues will ever be able to sing them really well. Here is an art form which, like all others, and more than most, requires experience to instruct performance.

That is not to dissuade amateurs from trying. In fact, the very feature which makes the blues song difficult to master—its seeming simplicity—is the lure which attracts the do-it-yourself musician. And that is all to the good. For our popular musical culture has certainly been enriched by the large number of New Yorkers who have been to neither Mississippi nor Michigan, but can declaim with full-throated conviction that "Mississippi water tastes like turpentine" while "Michigan water tastes like sherry wine."

WHAT THE BLUES FAN has long needed is a compilation of favorite and not-so-well known songs which could become a part of the home musical library. Jerry Silverman, a popular young guitarist, folk singer and music teacher, has filled the need admirably with **Folk Blues**,* a collection of 110 songs arranged for voice, piano and guitar.

Here, under handy subject-matter headings, are six kinds of blues songs: the Work and Prison Blues, Hard Times Blues, Jim Crow Blues; Lovin', Livin', an' Leavin' Blues, Brimstone Blues and Talking Blues. If your special kind has been left out, then you've had a specie of trouble unknown to some of the most trouble-tossed men and women who ever lived. For these are the blues of Blind Lemon Jefferson, Huddie Ledbetter (Leadbelly), Josh White, Bessie Smith, Jimmy Rodgers, Woody Guthrie and many hard-pressed

Line drawing by Vera Bock in Folk Blues

unknown bards.

THEY RISE out of chain gang and turpentine swamp, dust storm and railroad yard, honky-tonk, mine camp and near-Hell. In this volume they are preceded by an introduction which illuminates, for both the amateur and the expert, the genesis, development and structure of the blues. Short biographical sketches of the main exponents of the blues, a chart of guitar chords and a complete bibliography and discography enhance the value of the book.

So if you wake up one morning feeling blue, but don't know what to sing, just reach for **Folk Blues.** You're bound to find the song to fit your case. And if you don't, it'll be no fault of Jerry Silverman's. The only thing for you to do then would be to go drink muddy water and sleep in a hollow log and make up your own book of blues. Until you get that good (and low down), your best bet for those blue moments is **Folk Blues.**

—Louis E. Burnham

**FOLK BLUES, by Jerry Silverman. The Macmillan Co., 60 Fifth Av., New York 11, N.Y. 297 pp. $6.95.*

HOW'S YOUR GAME?

Items for chess fans

FROM THE MAILBAG pops a letter saying, "I thought you might like to know that a GUARDIAN subscriber (namely me) won the New York City Amateur Chess championship, sponsored by the U. S. Chess Federation over the Labor Day weekend."

The signer was Irving Kandel, in the news a year ago when he won the Baltimore city open championship (and also the Maryland and District of Columbia championships) while the storm center of a controversy in Maryland chess circles over his having used the Fifth Amendment when summoned before the Walter Committee and questioned on alleged Communist activity.

If we have one champion among GUARDIAN readers, we must have hundreds of wood-pushers who may be interested in several available items of chess literature which have lately come our way.

- The liveliest and newsiest is the monthly **Chess Review** (134 W. 72nd St., N.Y.C. $6 a year) which recently scored a coup in signing up Mikhail Botvinnik, world chess champion, for a minimum of four articles a year. The Soviet player's crown is now the object of a challengers' elimination tournament being conducted in Yugoslavia, in which one of the contenders is 14-year-old Bobby Fischer of the U. S.
- **Leaves of Chess,** published in six "folios" a year for $2 (lifetime sub, $20) discusses chess on a philosophical level, uses the international numerical method of notation of moves in its diagrams, and is often inclined to express its editor's comments in three-line Japanese poetic forms called **hokku** or **haikku.** The most recent folio at hand contains an ending from a 1958 game in Canton, the pieces pictured on the game diagram in Chinese characters. The author-editor (also a GUARDIAN reader) is O. Southard, Cathedral Station Box 158, N. Y. 25.
- A new British edition of the late world champion Alexander Alekhine's **My Best Games of Chess, 1908-1923,** is distributed here by David McKay, 119 W. 40th St., N.Y.C., at $4.50. The work contains 100 full games against the world's best players of Alekhine's time; and in the late champion's notations he frequently expresses his exasperation with the "moderns" of his time and their search for new systems of play. "I cannot conceive," he writes, in discussing a game at the Pistyan tournament of April, 1922, "why there is such an ardent desire to discover in the game of chess anything more subtle than it has to offer, for I am of the opinion that the real beauty which it possesses should be more than sufficient for all possible demands."

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GIVE A SUB TO A FRIEND
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On tour with Mr. K

(Continued from Page 1)

the official party arrived, and 10,000 persons were outside the hotel to greet Mr. K. There were cheers and applause as he entered the hotel, and more when he appeared at a window shortly after. The lighted skyscrapers illuminated the whole area. Thus began a visit which was perhaps the most cordial of the entire trip; the cops had little to do except to unsnarl traffic jams during the visitor's eight daylight hours in the city.

UNDER GOD: "Biggest crowds I've ever seen," said Mayor Thomas J. Gallagher. Indeed the crowds were the biggest in the city's history. Contributing to the friendliness was a quiet appeal by Catholic Bishop John J. Wright discouraging hostile demonstrations in this heavily Catholic city. Mr. K later thanked Bishop Wright publicly. The Bishop's attitude was far different from that of Cardinal Spellman of New York and Cardinal Cushing of Boston, who went out of their way to poison the atmosphere during the Khrushchev visit.

God was a familiar figure by now in Khrushchev's comments and in the exchanges between the visitor and his hosts in various cities (he heard his first benediction at a luncheon at the University of Pittsburgh Sept. 24). In keeping with the invocation of the deity, an old jingle from our early Boston days kept coming to the fore and we revised it during one heavenly discourse:

Here's to America, home of the silage
and the sod,
Where Lodge speaks only to Khrushchev,
and Khrushchev speaks often of God.

THE MESTA VISIT: On the morning of Sept. 24 the convoy of olive-drab press buses rolled out once again to anticipate the visitor at the Mesta Machine Co. plant in West Homestead, the only large steel fabricator still operating in the area (the Steel Workers have never been able to organize the 4,000 workers in the plant). We went past hotels with signs on the marquees reading: "We Salute the Peace Efforts of President Eisenhower and Premier Khrushchev;" out along the quiet Monongahela, with the houses high on the hills, the air unusually clear in the smokeless city.

At Mesta, there was a holiday atmosphere. No one was working. The girls from the offices had come down to the plant floor, and the workers were lining up for the guest. The reporters and photographers were herded into bull pens at three points along the line of inspection. There was banter between the press and the workers; the Soviet reporters got into discussions with machine operators about vacations; compensation for property in areas which became Soviet after the war; the rate of pay and conditions of work. Nobody won any arguments.

CIGAR FOR A WATCH: Then the visitor came in and the atmosphere became electric as he tramped through the plant, greeting and being greeted by workers in Russian. One man had a sign pinned on his green shirt: "I am Russian." An aid whispered to Mr. K who came over to shake hands. The worker, Kenneth (Kov) Jackey, offered the Premier a cigar (6 for 39 cents) and the Premier accepted. Then he took off his wrist watch and gave it to Jackey, along with a little Soviet medal. The photographers closed in and the Soviet watch on Jackey's wrist was inscribed in history.

At times the scene took on something of a Marx Brothers aspect. In a cafeteria kitchen Mr. K made as though he were going to steal a napkin holder. In the executive suite, he sat down in the boss' chair and said: "Any papers for me to sign?" A vice president of Mesta came in and said: "We're going to declare a dividend." "Good," said Mr. K. "I'll sign anything for a profit." He also suggested that six waitresses fly back to Moscow with the party. One accepted; but by then Mr. K was gone.

REMARKABLE RECOVERY: And so was any sign of fatigue that had manifested itself in Iowa. The bounce was back, the ebullience and the quick retort. The visitor was heading into the homestretch in great shape. "I'm having a wonderful time," he said. "You

Herblock, Washington Post

can always have a good time with good people." Pittsburgh, he said, reminded him of his youth in the Donets coal basin.

But the Premier was not so bemused by the welcome that he did not take on another politician. This time is was Gov. David Lawrence of Pennsylvania at the University luncheon. In his introduction, Lawrence told Mr. K that, even though he was a Democrat, he would say this: "In foreign relations President Eisenhower speaks for a united country and America will confidently follow him wherever he goes."

That could be taken two ways, said Mr. K. One would be:

"'Listen, Khrushchev, and look. We have two parties but we are united.' Well, God knows what the difference is between the two parties. I don't. Perhaps you do. It's all the same for me."

FEAR OF THE DEVIL: He also twitted the advocates of free enterprise: "How is it that you Americans have lost one of your features peculiar to Americans? You used to be very bold and you used to trade with the whole world. But of late some kind of devil must have frightened you because you are afraid to stick out your nose for fear the devil will imprison you."

On the eve of the visit, the Pittsburgh **Post-Gazette**, in a generous editorial urging a courteous welcome, said: "It seems quite possible that gradually the American and Soviet people will find themselves with more in common than divides them. Unless, that is, they should be plunged by irresponsible people into catastrophic war."

Just before his departure, Mr. K echoed the sentiment and went further. He said: "May God give us the strength to solve matters by reason and not by force. That is what the people are expecting from us. If our two countries, instead of distrusting each other, establish relations of trust and pool their resources in the struggle to strengthen peace for themselves and for all, we shall be supported by the people of the whole world. Peace, not war, is the natural state of mankind."

On this note, the Air Force jet took him on the last leg of his American odyssey back to Washington for the quiet talks with the President.

WASHINGTON

IT WAS A TIRED and battered press corps that dragged itself off the planes at Andrews Air Force Base in Maryland, and from the buses in Washington, to hunt down personal baggage at the State Dept. It had been "shipped ahead" in an Army plane and it was late, as usual. It was almost the last straw in the mixups that had marked the arrangements through most of the trip.

The official party and the security officers were equally tired and irritable. In the last days of the trip Soviet Ambassador Menshikov had conceded that perhaps the security had been too rigid on both sides, and that can be verified by any reporter or photographer who had got in the way of a Soviet-American security straight-arm. On that score there was intimate collaboration between the two countries. The Ambassador also said that when Mr. K disapproved the security measures, that meant the original agreements were off; but the signal apparently had not trickled down successfully.

IN BOUNCING HUMOR: If we were exhausted, the Premier looked as though he were ready to take off again. From the airport he went to Blair House to freshen up, and then to a reception at the Soviet Embassy packed to the walls. He kissed Van Cliburn on each cheek, gave Dr. Du Bois a bear hug. He asked Vice President Nixon: "Did you think I had succumbed?" "No," said Nixon, "you have too much energy."

The Premier was in high good humor. After shaking hands with 450 guests and exchanging quips with a good many of them, he was off on foot to a dinner party of 22 with Eric Ridder, publisher of the **Journal of Commerce**, as host.

Asked his impression of America, he said: "I am very pleased. The impression I gained is that the American people are very peace-loving. In this I do not draw a dividing line between the ordinary people, the business people and the politicians. As for your politicians, there may be a few who fear the end of the cold war. After all, that is the horse on which they galloped into Congress. The impression I gained is that the United States does want agreement with us and does want to live in peace. But evidently some time must elapse before that can take place.

"Disarmament is the test of whether you want peace. We want to live in peace with you. We want to trade with you because we believe that trade is the litmus paper to indicate whether you want to live in peace with us."

Asked by Frank Pace, president of the General Dynamics Corp., whether he had found that the American people believed in moral principles, Mr. K replied: "Moral principles must not be confused with bases surrounding the Soviet Union."

ABOUT THE OTHERS: Sept. 25 was a cleanup day in Washington. Other members of the Soviet party were busy.

- Mme. Khrushchev gave an interview to 18 women reporters, many of whom had covered her on the tour from the "woman's angle" (you ought to hear some of the women reporters on this bit of chauvinism).
- The Soviet medical men in the party met with American doctors to work out an exchange of health data and personnel.
- Author Mikhail Sholokhov, mostly silent until then, met with several American cultural figures and made these assertions: (1) a literary convention would probably be signed soon between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. which would provide, among other things, for payment of royalties for writers in each country; (2) Boris Pasternak, author of **Doctor Zhivago**, was a "hermit crab;" (3) socialist realism may be defined thus: "What stands for Soviet power is socialist realism;" (4) Harrison Salisbury of the New York **Times** had been engaged in a "mad fantasy" when he reported a bitter controvery between Sholokhov and the Soviet Writers Union over the ending of his new novel **Virgin Soil Upturned.** He said he had to hurry to finish the book because Salisbury had already written the ending, and if he, Sholokhov, did not hurry, Salisbury would get the royalties. A tarter tongue has not often been heard in our midst.

ABOUT HIS FRANKNESS: Mr. K had lunch with Secy. of State Herter. He said that he had been very frank in his expressions on his tour and perhaps this may have displeased some people. "Perhaps," he said, "you do not understand our ways well enough. We in our country have differences, as you do, but you dramatize yours more than we do. We differ more calmly usually because both sides have the same basis." He conceded, however, that differences in the Soviet Union were not always handled quietly.

Then, in an earnest plea, the Premier asked that the differences expressed on his journey through America not be allowed to interfere with the main job of improving American-Soviet relations and relaxing tensions in the world.

END AND BEGINNING: At 5:52 p.m. on Sept. 25, President Eisenhower and Premier Khrushchev together entered Aspen Lodge at Camp David in the Catoctin Mountains of northwest Maryland. It was a beautiful day. The leaves were

turning and the sun played on the changing colors in an autumnal hymn as the two leaders began their long-awaited discussions.

It was the end of a journey in one sense; it was the beginning of a greater journey in the greater sense.

For this observer the odyssey seemed to mark a turn of history.

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Ike and Mr. K

(Continued from Page 1)

powerful countries had issued a joint commniqué on Sept. 27. The same afternoon, Khrushchev held a press conference in Washington and followed this with a TV-radio address to the American people. That evening he boarded a giant Soviet turbo-prop airliner for the non-stop, 5,000-mile flight to Moscow.

In his brief farewell talk at the airport he expressed gratitude "for your bread and salt" and added:

"I hope that in the relationship between our two countries we will be able to use more and more often the good, short American word: Okay. Until we meet again, friends."

FORCE RULED OUT: The joint communiqué and the press conferences by Khrushchev and White House press secreary James C. Hagerty gave these things as the highpoints of the discussions at Camp David:

- Khrushchev and Eisenhower "agreed that all outstanding international questions should be settled not by the application of force but by peaceful means through negotiation."
- The two leaders agreed that the question of general disarmament is the most important one facing the world today. Both governments will make every effort to achieve a constructive solution of the problem.
- Views were exchanged on "the question of a peace treaty with Germany" and, on Berlin, "an understanding was reached . . . that negotiations would be reopened with a view to achieving a [peaceful] solution."
- A summit conference was possible even before Eisenhower visits the Soviet Union.
- It was agreed to postpone the President's visit to the Soviet Union till next spring.
- An understanding was reached to enlarge the scope of the U.S.-U.S.S.R. exchange program and to explore possibilities of increased trade.
- It was decided to reopen negotiations to settle the World War II Lend-Lease account.

A BRIGHT EXCHANGE: Khrushchev was relaxed, witty and, as usual, forthright before nearly 700 newsmen at his last press conference. For example, Daniel Schorr of CBS asked if he felt "there was any planned attempt to hinder your reception in America and, if so, who do do you think planned it?" Khrushchev replied: "I agree, Mr. Schorr, with reports you had in your hands when you were planning this question."

The Soviet Premier quietly added that "it would be discourteous for a guest to point any finger" at those who oppsed his visit, especially since "their plans in this respect failed."

He again drew laughter after this question by Sarah McClendon of the Manchester (N.H.) **Union Leader:** "If there is disarmament, how many men would you thus release for your civilian economy?" Khrushchev said: "I think this is a case not only of journalistic but of a womanly curiosity . . . If we get general disarmament, which we want very much, all our generals, officers, admirals, privates, fliers will return home."

TRIPS AND TRADE: Khrushchev sought to prevent speculation on the delay in Eisenhower's trip. He said he chose spring as the best time for the trip after conferring with the Eisenhower grandchildren, who would be accompanying the President to the Soviet Union. He added: "So there is no point in looking for fleas where fleas do not exist."

AN EASING OF TENSION WOULD LEAD TO MORE OF THIS
A group of Soviet metallurgists shown on a tour of the National Housing Center in Washington two years ago.

He also tried to prevent misunderstanding on two important issues: mutual trade and disarmament control. On trade, he explained that, since the Soviet Union "is not a colony but a great industrial power with great industrial capacity," increased trade would not mean an opportunity for U.S. dumping of whatever surplus products American businessmen wished to get rid of.

He said: "If there is any intention to sell sausages or shoes to the Soviet Union, you would not find a market for these goods in our country. But we are prepared to develop trade with you to buy what we need to buy and to sell you what you need to buy from us, and that includes both industrial products and consumer goods."

LIFE IN THE U.S.S.R.: On controls, Khrushchev tried to banish once and for all the charge that Moscow wanted disarmament without inspection, or with inspection only in the very last stages. He said that each stage of disarmament should be accompanied by "appropriate inspection and control" and this method would continue "throughout the whole process of disarmament." "When disarmament becomes general," he added, "the controllers—the observers—should certainly remain in order to make sure that the agreement is fully observed."

In his TV-radio address to the nation, Khrushchev presented with simplicity and dignity the reasons behind the Soviet proposals and gave a picture of life in the Soviet Union which was almost an ABC of applied socialism. This was the first time the American people had the chance to hear about socialism, not from a sympathetic or unsympathetic visitor or from an ex-communist "expert" on socialism, but from the leader of the world's most advanced socialist country.

Khrushchev said it will be difficult "to overcome all that has accumulated over the many years of the cold war," and impossible, therefore, "to count on a sudden change in the situation." To improve U.S.-Soviet relations, he said, "will require great effort and patience and, first and foremost, the desire of both sides" to promote normal relations and friendship between the two countries.

It seemed to him that the President was "in a more difficult position than I am." One must take into account "those forces in the U.S. which hinder improvement of relations . . . and an international detente" and were evidently "still influential." He believed, however, "that common sense will, in the final analysis, dictate the correct line in solving international issues"—the line of eliminating the cold war and consolidating peace.

"IT WILL BE ATTAINED": Khrushchev asked: "If we are not planning to fight, whatever for do you or we need all these armaments?" He said he had proposed total disarmament because "surely a better use" could be found for the $40,000,000,000 American and the $25,000,000,000 Soviet expenditures on armaments.

He noted that "the American people have created great wealth and enjoy a high standard of living." "Owing to the victory of socialism," he said, "[the Soviet people] have attained great success and, although we are not yet as rich as you are, we are on the right road toward reaching the highest living standard in the world." He added: "And it will be attained."

In his farewell there emerged more than ever the picture of a man supremely confident but not boastful, ready to give the American people their due, but proud of the achievements of his own people, respectful of America's greatness but demanding respect in turn for the greatness of the Soviet Union.

PROGRESS ALREADY: It was announced on Sept. 26 that talks between leading U.S. and Soviet health officials at the Natl. Institute of Health, Bethesda, Md., had resulted in agreement on joint projects involving studies in cancer, heart disease and poliomyelitis. There were indications that exchange of scientific, industrial and agricultural delegations between the two countries would increase soon.

An agreement on nuclear test suspension may come out of the Geneva talks scheduled to resume after this month's British elections.

Despite these signs of progress and the compliments exchanged by the President and the Premier, reaction to Khrushchev's visit varied. Adlai Stevenson thought "this fantastic visit was a hopeful omen." The White House and the State Dept. were reported to have assessed it "as a successful experiment." But Sen. Symington (D-Mo.), fearful that progress in disarmament would mean a reduction in his favorite air force appropriations, warned against "the tremendous increase in the relative strength of the Communist conspiracy as against that of the U.S." Former Gov. Harriman thought the Krushchev visit "has alerted the American people to the seriousness of the Soviet threat."

MACMILLAN HAPPY: The British were pleased and Prime Minister Macmillan, campaigning for reelection, quickly appropriated credit for having initiated the Khrushchev visit. Unhappiest of all was Bonn's Chancellor Adenauer, already fuming over Secy. of State Herter's statement to UN correspondents that the U.S. might not object to the Soviet Union's signing a peace treaty with East Germany. To Adenauer this would be tantamount to U.S. acceptance of the existence of two sovereign German states, as Moscow insists be done.

Paradoxically enough, some who looked on the exchange of visits with a jaundiced eye were, nevertheless, none too pleased by Eisenhower's postponing his trip to the Soviet Union till next spring. They refused to accept at face value the President's explanation that he already had a full winter schedule. It seemed to them that, by holding the Eisenhower trip in abeyance, the Republicans would reap a bountiful campaign harvest as the party which was promoting world peace.

The Khrushchev visit seemed to have encouraged those who work for peace, confounded the cynics and increased the determination of those who profit by the cold war to do all they can to prolong it. Much remained to be revealed about the Camp David dialogue; but, as a minimum, there was agreement to keep talking, to maintain and increase contacts, to accept differences but avoid friction.

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TUES. at 8:30—"The Puerto Ricans in U.S.," "Political Action & 1960 Elections," "Public Speaking."

WED. at 6:30—"Marxist Philosophy," "The Theory of Negro Liberation," or "Problems of American History."
WED. at 8:30— "American Capitalism Today," "Current Questions in Marxist Theory," or "Psychology."

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MURRY WEISS, national committee member, Socialist Workers Party, discusses "Socialist Election Policy in 1960." Question & discussion period. Fri., Oct. 2, 8 p.m. Ausp: **Militant Labor Forum,** 116 University Place, (off Union Square).

* * * * *

Next Week
The New AFL-CIO LINE ON POLITICAL ACTION, An Analysis by **TOM KERRY,** N.Y. Chairman, Socialist Workers Party, Fri., Oct. 9, 8 p.m. Questions, discussion. Cont. 50c. Ausp: **Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Pl.** (Union Sq.)

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THE GALLERY

WHILE MR. K was being interviewed outdoors in Des Moines by TV men, looking out for his "security" were Secret Service men, Russian security guards, state, police, local cops and the National Guard. Suddenly a car pulled up on the outskirts of the large crowd of spectators. Out climbed five men. Although the day was sunny, they wore long trench coats buttoned all the way up, fedoras with brims turned down and dark glasses. Each carried a violin case. Security guards surrounded them. When police took them aside for questioning, they learned that they were college students on a prank. The violin cases were empty . . . Foreign Minister Gromyko said one of the things Mr. K picked up here during his visit is a taste for olives . . . At his farm Roswell Garst told the Soviet Premier: "You know, we two farmers could soon settle the problems of the world faster than diplomats." Garst then turned and noticed that Henry Cabot Lodge was standing just behind him. "Oh, excuse me," said Garst. Later as Lodge trailed Mr. K through pigpens at Iowa State College Mr. K said: "In all his life Mr. Lodge never experienced such smells as today." . . . When reporters wanted to know what was said during his meeting with Adlai Stevenson, Mr. K turned to Stevenson and asked: "Can I repeat that little conversation? It won't reveal any secret. You will not be investigated by the Bureau of Un-American Affairs?"

WINSTON J. SHELTON, president of Texair Corp., an airplane sales and service company in Dallas, sent a telegram to the Soviet newspaper **Izvestia** apologizing for the way the Soviet Premier was treated in Los Angeles. He said later he did not want the Russians to think all Americans are "beatniks." . . . In discussing the possibility of an exchange of TV programs between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, Ed Sullivan said that he was sure the Russians would not accept any westerns or "private eye" shows . . . In San Francisco Mr. K learned that Mayor George Christopher is up for re-election next month. While riding to a speaking engagement Mr. K teased the mayor: "Maybe I'll come out for you this morning." Christopher kidded back: "Why don't you think it over for 60 days." . . . Mr. K had this advice to Americans who objected to his visit: "He who wants eggs must put up with the cackle." . . . Actor Ward Bond boycotted the Hollywood luncheon for Mr. K. Instead he flew an American flag at half-mast over his home. . . . When N.Y. **Times** "Soviet expert" Harry Schwartz approached Mr. K for an autograph for his children, the premier said: "Oh, I know you! As Stalin said, 'the sins of the parents should not be visited on the children.' But, neither should the parents be rewarded." Schwartz did not get the autograph.

"Wot happens to us if they redoose the tension?"

AS SEEN ON TV, most film stars seemed to enjoy Mr. K, but few would be quoted for the record in favor of the visit. Only the glamor girls seemed to have backbone. Kim Novak said: "I think it's great. We should have more like it. I'm for anything that promotes peace." Marilyn Monroe, who flew to Hollywood especially for the luncheon, said: "It's a historic moment.". . . N. Y. **Herald Tribune** Hollywood correspondent Joe Hyams reported: "In honor of Mr. Khrushchev, there were Negro stars at the luncheon. Although each star was important in his own right, it's the first time I've seen any of them at a major party.". . . At the Hollywood luncheon Mr. K referred to a study by an economic commission of the State Dept. which predicted the U.S.S.R. would catch up with the U. S. by 1970. He added: "By the way, I now read less Karl Marx and Lenin than I do the writings of American Senators, economists and journalists." Earlier he had said to movie mogul Spyros Skouras: "It is not I who invent unemployment in America. The statistics . . . I read are yours, not mine.". . . The 16 chorines who performed the can-can for K were all previously checked for "political security" by the State Dept. . . . Mr. K, who seems to have a new old Russian proverb for every occasion, seemed to be most impressed with one he pulled on Skouras: "Eat bread and salt but also speak your mind."

—Robert E. Light

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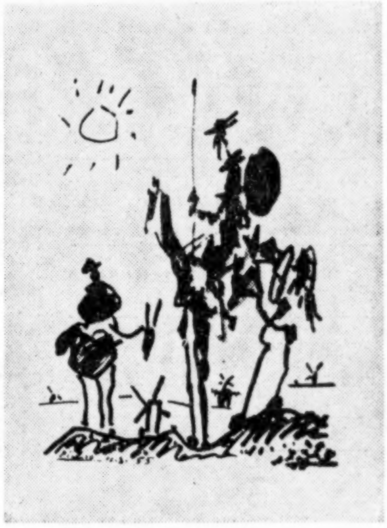

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NEWSPAPER

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the SPECTATOR

In a London dive

LONDON

RIGHT IN THE HEART of Picadilly Circus, which is London's Times Square, there is a huge billboard proclaiming a single hyphenated word which to millions of people around the world has become synonymous with America. At night, when Picadilly is lit up, the word dominates the area. But why keep you in suspense? It is "Coca-Cola."

We are told that in Brussels, Paris, Rome, Vienna, indeed, in all the major cities of western Europe this word looms immodestly large on billboards and rooftops. Since we intend to do some traveling in those parts it is comforting to know in advance that a touch of home is awaiting us everywhere.

While in London, it occurred to us that it would be a fine gesture of reciprocity on the part of our British cousins if in exchange for "the pause that refreshes" they should export to the U.S. the pause that **really** refreshes. We have in mind that celebrated institution, the English pub. For the pub, we discovered, is something not only worth writing home about but actually worth having at home.

HERE ONE DOES NOT BREEZE IN to gulp down a quickie on the run. Nor does one come here to kill an evening tanking up and staring glassy-eyed at that one spot on the wall that unites all in the common fraternity of "Have Gun, Will Travel." Television, or the box as it is called here unceremoniously, is not part of the pub's standard equipment. The din and racket of a gun-smoking western would be jarringly out of tune here with the hum of amiable conversation or one's solitary reflection.

Depending on the company you keep you may find yourself part of a political forum, or in the midst of a discussion on the angry young men, or just participating in some everyday social chit-chat. And you won't feel like an out-of-place egghead if you're off somewere in a corner by yourself reading the weekly **New Statesman** or perusing the London **Times** while you sip your light or brown ale from a large stein. There is no need for a sign in the window saying, "Ladies Invited." The ladies feel at home in an English pub. Here a husband may bring his wife and a young man his girl friend and consider it a social evening out, not only pleasant but perfectly respectable.

And speaking of pubs. The other day our eye caught a sign which read, "Snack Bar and Dive." We blinked and read again. Yes, it said "Dive." We looked about us. No, this was not London' equivalent of the Bowery. It was the corner of Cannon Row and Bridge, in Westminster, only a few blocks away from 10 Downing Street where at that very moment a corps of press photographers were standing with their cameras poised, ready to preserve for posterity Macmillan's effete and mannered smile as he was about to announce the date of Britain's forthcoming elections.

WITH THE CHARACTERISTIC adventurousness that a tourist acquires the minute he sets foot on a foreign shore, we descended the few steps into the "Dive" only to find ourselves in what may be described as a super-pub; that is, in addition to being a pub it had one section reserved for serving hot meals. If that is a "Dive" we are very curious indeed to see what a "Joint" would look like in London.

But if we really had a choice of British exports to America we could suggest a few things that we regard as being even more important than the pub. Of these the British Health Service Plan is high on our list. Inaugurated by the post-war Labor Government, the Tories may be unhappy about it but they don't dare take it away from the people. Besides, they couldn't if they tried. The people have had a taste of a form of socialized medicine and they will not part with its benefits. If the American people could have a similar taste, no amount of AMA mumbo-jumbo would convince them to the contrary.

Another item on our export list is Robeson's **Othello** for which it is next to impossible to obtain tickets. We hope to catch it on our way back if we're lucky. We were, however, lucky enough to have heard the first of a series of Robeson programs broadcast over the BBC. It is a peculiarly startling sensation for an American to be able to flick the dial of a major radio network and find himself enveloped by the rich and vibrant tones of Robeson's voice to the accompaniment of Larry Brown.

As we listened to his pleasantly informal introductions to his songs, interspersed with illuminating reminiscences of his early years in show business, we were carried away by the wild thought that it was CBS that was broadcasting this program. But at the end of this very enjoyable half hour the BBC announcer brought us quickly back to reality and we realized, with a sense of shame and regret, that neither CBS nor NBC have as yet achieved that level of independence that would permit them to offer a Robeson program in the year of Our Lord 1959.

And there is something on our list for the American grocer to ponder. His British counterpart opens around nine in the morning and closes around six. The same is true of the dairyman, the butcher, the baker, and you can rhyme it any way you wish. No, this is not a customer-oriented country. The Englishman would rather have his high tea around five or six in the afternoon than utilize this time for making another dollar.

But then again, what can you expect from a country that doesn't know its dives from its pubs?

—Yuri Suhl